

recognizes the needs of young people coming from economic backgrounds which make it difficult for them to acquire higher education.

Nevertheless, we in the Congress have an obligation when expending taxpayer money, to do so in a manner that meets our Nation's needs. Our Nation desperately needs more trained students in math, science, and engineering. That is an indisputable objective.

The Pell Grant program, in my judgment, offers Congress the opportunity to provide incentives for student recipients to pursue curricula in math, science, and engineering.

My Pell Grant amendment is one idea, but I am certain it is not the only idea. As a member of the Senate's Education Committee, I hope that my chairman, Senator GREGG, will schedule hearings as part of the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act to look into our system of higher education and whether this country is on track to produce graduates who meet the current and projected needs of this country.

At this time, I will not offer my amendment in order to give the Education Committee a sufficient opportunity to address this issue.

At some time in this Congress, though, I fully intend to reintroduce an amendment along these lines after the committee has reviewed the issues, after I get the views of the administration, and after the wide range of people who on a daily basis review the Pell Grant program have an opportunity to share their views as well.

Mr. SPECTER. I ask for the yeas and nays on final passage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, the next vote will be the last vote of the week. Tomorrow morning, the Senate will convene at 8:30 in order to recognize the second anniversary of the September 11 tragedy. Throughout tomorrow, there will be various events to honor those who perished on that date 2 years ago. Tomorrow morning, there will be four different moments of silence which will begin with the ringing of a bell just outside the Chamber doors. Members are welcome to come to the floor tomorrow morning to participate and give remarks if they choose.

We will also conduct business during tomorrow's session. However, any roll-call votes ordered on Thursday or Friday will be scheduled to occur on Monday. I thank all Members.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate insist on its amendment to H.R. 2660, request a conference with the House of Representatives on the disagreeing votes thereon, and that the

Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This is following passage of the bill.

Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill, as amended, pass?

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. SUNUNU) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. SMITH) are absent because of a death in the family.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. EDWARDS), the Senator from Florida (Mr. GRAHAM), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KERRY), and the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. LIEBERMAN) are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KERRY) would vote "yea."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 94, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 347 Leg.]

YEAS—94

Akaka	DeWine	Lott
Alexander	Dodd	Lugar
Allard	Dole	McCain
Allen	Domenici	McConnell
Baucus	Dorgan	Mikulski
Bayh	Durbin	Miller
Bennett	Ensign	Murkowski
Biden	Enzi	Murray
Bingaman	Feingold	Nelson (FL)
Bond	Feinstein	Nelson (NE)
Boxer	Fitzgerald	Nickles
Breaux	Frist	Pryor
Brownback	Graham (SC)	Reed
Bunning	Grassley	Reid
Burns	Gregg	Roberts
Byrd	Hagel	Rockefeller
Campbell	Harkin	Santorum
Cantwell	Hatch	Sarbanes
Carper	Hollings	Schumer
Chafee	Hutchison	Sessions
Chambliss	Inhofe	Shelby
Clinton	Inouye	Snowe
Cochran	Jeffords	Specter
Coleman	Johnson	Stabenow
Collins	Kennedy	Stevens
Conrad	Kohl	Talent
Cornyn	Kyl	Thomas
Corzine	Landrieu	Voinovich
Craig	Lautenberg	Warner
Crapo	Leahy	Wyden
Daschle	Levin	
Dayton	Lincoln	

NOT VOTING—6

Edwards	Kerry	Smith
Graham (FL)	Lieberman	Sununu

The bill (H.R. 2660), as amended, was passed.

(The bill will be printed in a future edition of the RECORD.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate insists on its amendment and requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses.

The Presiding Officer (Mr. COLEMAN) appointed Mr. SPECTER, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. GREGG, Mr. CRAIG, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. SHELBY, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. INOUE, Mr. REID, Mr. KOHL,

Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. LANDRIEU, and Mr. BYRD conferees on the part of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period of morning business with Senators speaking up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### TRAGIC DEATH OF ARTHUR C. HELTON

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, all of us who knew and worked with Arthur Helton lost a dedicated friend, impassioned human rights activist, and inspiring humanitarian in the bombing of the U.N. headquarters in Iraq last month. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to Arthur's wife Jacqueline and their family during this difficult time. His never-failing spirit, his unique dedication, and his selfless and compassionate approach to all he did will be profoundly missed.

Arthur Helton's extraordinary commitments to human rights and to those in need constantly shone through in the caring and courageous life he led, and will continue to do so in the legacy he leaves behind. At the time of his death, he was attending a meeting with the United Nations envoy to Iraq on ways to improve the plight of the Iraqi people in the wake of the war and condition in which they live.

Throughout his brilliant career, Arthur was always an advocate in the forefront of the ongoing struggle for refugee and human rights, and it is no surprise that he was there at the heart of the action in Iraq at that tragic moment when the guerrillas and terrorists made their murderous move.

As an attorney with the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Arthur came to the aid of 2000 Haitian refugees detained in Florida in 1982, obtaining their release and finding volunteer attorneys for each of them. Most recently, he held the position of Director of Peace and Conflict Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. There was no limit to his vision. The beautiful life he lived was always an inspiration to all of us who care about respect for human rights in every land on earth.

Time and again, Arthur Helton gave to all of us in Congress invaluable advice on these all-important issues. We were always amazed by his dedication and his expertise, and we were grateful for the unfailing wisdom of his counsel. His death in Baghdad is a great loss for all of us, and for the cause of refugee and human rights he served so passionately and well.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD the following commentaries on the life of Arthur C. Helton.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 21, 2003]

ARTHUR HELTON, 54, REFUGEE ADVOCATE, DIES

(By Paul Lewis)

Arthur C. Helton, a New York lawyer and human rights activist who devoted most of his professional life to the help and protection of refugees, died in the bomb attack on the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad on Tuesday, the Council on Foreign Relations announced yesterday. He was 54.

Mr. Helton, who was the director of peace and conflict studies at the council and senior fellow for refugee studies and preventive action, was visiting Baghdad to assess conditions in Iraq.

When the bomb exploded, the council said, he was scheduled to meet with the top United Nations official there, Sergio Vieira de Mello, who was also killed in the blast.

"Arthur was one of our most respected senior fellows and a noted expert on refugee and humanitarian issues and international law," Richard N. Haass, the council's president, said in a statement. "The world has lost a devoted and talented champion of the rights of the dispossessed."

Last year Mr. Helton published "The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century" (Oxford University Press), in which he analyzed responses to the refugee crises of the 1990's and made practical proposals for improving the treatment of people displaced by conflicts.

The United Nations secretary general, Kofi Annan, wrote in commenting on the book: "Mr. Helton not only asks important questions, but also makes ambitious policy recommendations. His book is a welcome contribution to the debate on humanitarian action and will undoubtedly help us to manage humanitarian challenges better in the future."

Mr. Helton began his work with refugees in 1982 when he joined the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York to lead its Refugee Rights Program, devoted to helping win asylum in the United States for those fleeing political and religious persecution in their home countries.

He created a much-replicated program under which lawyers from some of the most prestigious firms in the United States provided free help to poor refugees in their quest for asylum.

During his first year at the Lawyers Committee, Mr. Helton secured the release of some 2,000 fugitives from Haiti held in Florida after convincing a federal judge that he would find volunteer lawyers to represent them at formal asylum hearings.

"He was one of the first people, if not the first, working at a human rights organization with an exclusive focus on refugee protection of displaced people," said Michael Posner, executive director of the Lawyers Committee. "He was a major force in building concern for refugees, first in the United States and then he took that concern international."

Mr. Helton toured disaster areas to study and help refugees and other displaced people. He was a leading adviser to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on refugee issues.

He was an adjunct professor at Columbia University Law School where he taught immigration law. He also taught at New York University Law School and at the Central European University in Budapest.

Arthur Cleveland Helton was born in St. Louis on Jan. 24, 1949. He graduated from Columbia College in 1971 and from New York

University Law School in 1976. He is survived by his wife, the former Jacqueline Dean Gilbert of New York City. They were married in 1982.

[From the Council on Foreign Relations, 2003 Annual Report]

DEDICATION, ARTHUR C. HELTON, 1949-2003

All of us at the Council on Foreign Relations were deeply saddened by the tragic loss of our colleagues and friend, Arthur C. Helton, in the August 19, 2003, bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad. Arthur was one of our most distinguished senior fellows and noted expert on refugee and humanitarian issues and international law. A respected lawyer and human rights activist, he devoted his life to improving the lives of others. At the time of his death, he was in Iraq to consult with the United Nations to help find ways to relieve human suffering there.

Arthur was Director of Peace and Conflict Studies and Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action at the Council. He was also an adjunct professor at Columbia University Law School. Prior to joining the Council in 1999, he founded and directed the Forced Migration Projects at the Open Society Institute and directed the Refugee Project at the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.

"From representing Haitian boat people incarcerated at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1981 in New York, to interviewing displaced Serbs from Kosovo residing in Belgrade in 2001, refugees have taken me on a remarkable professional journey," Arthur wrote in the preface of his 2002 book, *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century*. Arthur's colleagues at the Council and elsewhere are honored to have witnessed and participated in his remarkable journey. With his death, the world has lost a devoted and talented champion of the rights of the dispossessed. We will miss him.

[From the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Aug. 20, 2003]

LAWYERS COMMITTEE MOURNS DEATH OF ARTHUR C. HELTON IN U.N. BOMBING

NEW YORK.—The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights mourns the death of refugee expert Arthur C. Helton, who died in the bombing at the United Nations in Baghdad on Tuesday.

Helton, a leading authority on refugee and humanitarian issues, worked at the Lawyers Committee for 12 years, from 1982 to 1994, where he led the Refugee Rights Program. Helton's most recent position was with the Council on Foreign Relations, as the Director, Peace and Conflict Studies and a Senior Fellow, Refugee Studies and Preventive Action.

"People now talk about how refugee rights are human rights," said Michael Posner, Executive Director of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. "Arthur was in the forefront of promoting that idea. He was one of the first people, if not the first, working at a human rights organization with an exclusive focus on refugee protection and the protection of displaced people. He was a major force in building concern for refugees first in the U.S. and then he took that concern international."

When the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights was founded in 1978, one of its programs was devoted to helping win asylum in the United States for those fleeing political and religious persecution in their home countries. Helton took that idea and created an innovative—and now much replicated—pro bono representation program for asylum seekers. His idea was to connect lawyers at

the most prestigious firms in the United States with refugees seeking asylum from persecution, many of whom were indigent. The program Helton started now represents more than 1,000 asylum seekers each year, winning more than 90 percent of its cases.

Helton's first breakthrough in refugee advocacy in the U.S. was in 1982 when close to 2,000 Haitian refugees were being held in detention in Florida.

"Arthur persuaded me to promise a federal judge that if these Haitians were released, we would find volunteer lawyers across the country for all 2,000 Haitians," Posner said. "And he did it. He devised a strategy to identify local lawyers in 20 states. Working with the American Bar Association, he recruited lawyers, trained them and connected them with the Haitian refugees. As we now know, 20 years later, he also helped foster a cadre of lawyers who understand refugee issues, care about refugee rights, and fight for refugee protection."

At the same time, in the early 80s, Helton was at the center of virtually every legislative and regulatory battle involving refugees.

"He shaped U.S. national policy regarding refugees," Posner said. "Over the two decades of Arthur's work, in both Washington and Geneva, he helped countless refugees in all corners of the world."

Helton also focused internationally. He led delegations around the world to study the situation of displaced people in Central America and other refugee issues in Southeast Asia, Africa, Russia, and the Middle East. Because of this work, he was one of the leading outside advisors to the United Nations on refugee issues, and pushed the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees to adopt strong refugee protection policies.

"Arthur was right in the center of figuring out how the UN should deal with refugee issues," Posner said. "When he'd go to Geneva, he met with everyone who mattered. It was in the context of this work that he met Sergio de Mello."

At the time of the bombing, Helton was scheduled to meet at the U.N. headquarters in Baghdad with Sergio Vieira de Mello, the U.N.'s chief envoy to Iraq. De Mello was also killed in the bombing.

"Arthur was legendarily hard working and tenacious. He was not afraid to have an audacious idea and he was not afraid to carry it out, which he did successfully," Posner said. "I can remember many times when people—everyone it seemed—would tell Arthur he couldn't do something, and then with his singular grit and determination, he would make it happen. Refugees around the world have lost a tireless advocate, a great friend, and one of their leading and brightest lights."

The Lawyers Committee extends its sympathy to Jackie, Helton's wife, and to his family.

[From abanet.org, Aug. 2003]

STATEMENT OF DENNIS W. ARCHER, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, REGARDING DEATH OF ABA MEMBER ARTHUR HELTON IN IRAQ BOMBING (AUGUST 19, 2003)

A strong and impassioned voice for refugees and immigrants has been silenced. The legal profession feels a profound loss over the death of Arthur C. Helton: lawyer, scholar and humanitarian. Helton was killed in Iraq in the midst of meeting with United Nations officials on important issues facing the war-torn country. He died as he lived, working indefatigably to help rebuild the lives of those who had lost their histories, homes

and borders as a result of armed conflict. His advocacy on behalf of the most vulnerable in our society epitomized the ideals of liberty and justice that the American Bar Association so deeply values. His legacy of selflessness, courage and devotion to the refugee cause serve as an inspiration to all who value human rights. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family.

[From www.opendemocracy.net, Aug. 21, 2003]

ARTHUR HELTON: A TRIBUTE FROM  
OPENDEMOCRACY

(By Caspar Henderson and David Hayes)

Arthur C. Helton, Director of Peace and Conflict Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations and a regular columnist for openDemocracy, was killed in the bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad on 19 August. His colleague and co-columnist, Gil Loescher, was critically injured. Caspar Henderson and David Hayes pay tribute on behalf of openDemocracy.

The bomb attack on the headquarters of the United Nations operation in Baghdad on 19 August which killed the UN special representative in Iraq, Sergio Vieira de Mello, injured more than 100 and killed at least 18 other people. Among the dead was Arthur Helton, the co-columnist of openDemocracy's humanitarian monitor.

The other half of this openDemocracy partnership, Gil Loescher, was critically injured in the blast, and has been transferred to hospital in Germany, where, at the time of writing he is in a critical condition.

Arthur's death is a dreadful loss to his family, friends and colleagues. Our thoughts and condolences are with them. We are with Gil and his family in spirit too.

This tragedy impacts heavily on openDemocracy. Arthur was a good friend of this enterprise and one of the people who made it what it is. He and Gil first approached us with a project and a vision that chimed with what we wanted to do: to facilitate serious, constructive global conversation on key issues of our time. We built up a strong working relationship from which we never ceased to learn new things.

Arthur was a serious, indefatigable scholar with extraordinary range. He was warm and humorous too. I (Caspar Henderson) will not forget his kindness when I visited him in the grand premises of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York earlier this year, and the touch of irony with which he showed me a photographic tribute to his work in the hallway of the Pratt house. In contrast to pictures associated with many of his colleagues, which mainly showed important guys in suits and ties shaking hands or dramatic shots of military situations, Arthur's picture showed a refugee mother and child. "The token soft power guy around here" he joked.

Arthur and Gil's humanitarian monitor combined expert understanding of the many dimensions of humanitarian crises—legal, political, logistical, military, historical—with a willingness to think beyond current models. This search for complex and changing truths led them to interview many of the key figures in the field—from government ministers and UN administrators to refugees and asylum-seekers at the sharpest end of policy.

Because of their true seriousness and refusal to posture, their column reached out to and was read by influential actors and thinkers across a range of bodies and ways of looking at the world, including the military and academic communities, international institutions and activists. Sergio Vieira de Mello was an enthusiastic reader of their work on openDemocracy, recommending it warmly to

others (according to reports, Sergio and Arthur were meeting together when the bomb went off).

Arthur and Gil's columns for openDemocracy on Iraq were only part of their concern with crises of human displacement, food insecurity, health and shelter deprivation—and how these problems are dealt with (usually inadequately, and often without taking to heart the lessons of the past) by state, humanitarian and other organisations. There was huge and important work to be done here, and for openDemocracy's global membership to engage with. We had hardly begun.

We salute Arthur Helton. We will miss him very much. We commit ourselves to building on his work and helping to make real the better world to which he dedicated his life. There is much to do.

[From Human Rights Watch, Aug. 20, 2003]

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH MOURNS DEATH OF  
REFUGEE ADVOCATE ARTHUR C. HELTON

Human Rights Watch mourns the loss of Arthur Helton, a leading advocate for refugees and internally displaced persons, who was among the victims of the bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad.

Arthur Helton, director of peace and conflict studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, was a valued colleague and longtime friend to Human Rights Watch. He was among the small circle of advisors who first encouraged and supported Human Rights Watch's work on the rights of refugees and displaced persons. He was a member of the advisory committee of Human Rights Watch's Africa Division and provided ready advice on a wide range of refugee issues from Eastern Europe to North Korea. Despite his own busy schedule, he was generous with his time and expertise and his judgments were always measured, thoughtful and insightful.

But more than this, as head of the Refugee Program at the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the Forced Migration Project at the Open Society Institute, and as a law professor at NYU and Columbia, Arthur Helton was an invaluable mentor to many Human Rights Watch staff members. He was a great friend to many of us, who found his acerbic wit a cheering tonic while battling official indifference.

His death is a loss not only to Human Rights Watch and other international organizations, but to the millions of refugees and displaced persons the world over who benefited, however unknowingly, from his hard-nosed and persuasive advocacy. Last year the increasingly slim and trim Arthur ran and completed the New York Marathon. On explaining his reason for going to Iraq, Arthur had insisted it was "to avoid running another marathon!"

Human Rights Watch extends its condolences to Arthur's wife Jacqueline Gilbert; and to his longtime assistant Marie Jeannot.

[From www.phrusa.org, Aug. 20, 2003]

PHR MOURNS THE LOSS OF LONGTIME  
REFUGEE ADVOCATE ARTHUR C. HELTON

Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) mourns the loss of Arthur C. Helton, a great thinker and leader in the defense of refugee rights. Arthur Helton died in Tuesday's bomb attack on the UN office in Baghdad where he was scheduled to meet with the UN's Sergio Vieira de Mello, also killed in the blast.

"This is a devastating loss," said Susannah Sirkin, Deputy Director of Physicians for Human Rights. "Human rights and refugee advocates have lost one of the most knowledgeable, experienced, and dedicated experts defending men, women, and children displaced from their homes. The lives of count-

less people benefited immeasurably by Arthur's work."

A lawyer, human rights activist, and policy analyst, Arthur was the long-time director of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights' Refugee Project. One of the foremost experts in refugee law, he founded the Forced Migration Project at the Open Society Institute in New York City. Most recently he served as the Director of Peace and Conflict Studies and senior fellow for refugee studies and preventative action at the Council of Foreign Relations.

Helton also contributed to PHR's publication Medical Victims of Torture: A Physicians Guide to Asylum Cases.

PHR staff expressed their personal appreciation for Arthur's deep commitment to improving the lives of those who have suffered untold misery, and their deepest condolences to his wife, Jacqueline, and his family and friends.

[From www.lirs.org]

LIRS AND ISS-USA MOURN LOSS OF GREAT  
HUMANITARIAN

Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) and its subsidiary International Social Service, United States of America Branch (ISS-USA) join myriad human rights and immigrant advocates around the world in mourning the loss of Arthur C. Helton. A New York human rights lawyer who served as director of peace and conflict studies and senior fellow for refugee studies and preventative action for the Council on Foreign Relations, Arthur died in the August 19 bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad, where he had gone to assess humanitarian conditions. He was 54.

While mourning his loss, we are thankful for his long and generous friendship and service to our agencies, especially his service as chair of the board of directors for ISS-USA from 1994 through 2003.

Arthur's death is a tragic loss to refugees, asylum seekers and displaced people and to all those dedicated to peace and justice. A distinguished and prolific scholar, he was a citizen of the world with a deep understanding of geopolitical forces and realities. Arthur's visionary spirit was balanced with realism, and he was capable of responding to complex problems by mobilizing systemic change to dramatically alter daily life for millions. As a mentor and inspiration to many, his life was a catalyst for linking people across agencies, ideologies and borders. The memory of his life and work will continue to guide and inspire us.

Condolences may be sent to Arthur's widow, Ms. Jacqueline D. Gilbert, 245 7th Avenue, Apartment 10B, New York, N.Y. 10001

SENATOR VANCE HARTKE

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to former Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana, who passed away this summer.

Throughout his three terms in the Senate, Vance Hartke was known for his tremendous energy, vision, and courage.

First elected to the Senate as part of the great Democratic class of 1958, Vance Hartke campaigned with legendary vigor and vim, visiting every county and town in Indiana and stopping to talk and listen to everyone who would stand still. He worked hard to benefit his home State, using his chairmanship of the Commerce Transportation Subcommittee to bring key road and rail projects to the Hoosier State.